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## ABSTRACT

Migration is generally conceptualized in terms of "streams" and "counterstreams." A stream is a group of migrants having a common origin and destination in a given migration period. The movement in the opposite direction is called its counterstream. The latter is usually the smaller of the two. A counterstream can be divided into two components: first time movers to an area (Primary Migrants) and return movers (Return Migrants). The purpose of this paper is to examine the feasibility of the differentiating between primary and return migrants within the Black counterstream, that is, Black migration to the South. A counterstream migration of Black people to the South has existed for many decades. The Census data indicates this counterstream has been steadily increasing from the first data available in 1935-1940 through the 1973 data from the Current Population Survey. As part of a larger study of Black migration to the South, the data for this analysis were derived from the Public Use Tapes of the 1970 Census of Population and Housing. Given the nature of selectivity in migration, certain socio-demographic and socioeconomic factors have been selected for analysis. The variables presented for analysis correspond to those variables showing themselves as useful measures of distinctions between migrant groups: age-sex relationships, marital status, education, income, and occupation. (Author/JM)

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**BLACK MIGRATION TO THE SOUTH:  
Primary and Return Migrants**

by

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BLACK MIGRATION TO THE SOUTH:  
Primary and Return Migrants

Migration is generally conceptualized in terms of "streams" and "counterstreams." Goldscheider loosely defines these constructs as "a group of migrants having a common origin and destination in a given migration period... The movement in the opposite direction to a stream is called its counterstream" (Goldscheider, 1971:52-54). The distinction drawn between the two streams has generally been that the counterstream is the smaller of the two streams. Although many demographers, notably Lee (1969), have stressed the importance of counterstreams in understanding the total migration picture, little research has been done on the subject.

Goldscheider (1971), among others, has set forth a theoretical framework of migration, which includes the study of counterstream migration as necessary and fundamental to an understanding of the determinants of migration, as well as the migration process itself. He divides the counterstream into two components: first time movers to an area (Primary Migrants) and return movers (Return Migrants).<sup>2</sup> Although there have been several studies dealing with return migration to a particular area (Alvarez, 1967; Tadros, 1968; Johnson, 1971), there has been little research done on the distinctions between the two subgroups of a counterstream migration.

Often a counterstream is composed solely, or to a very large extent, of return migrants. For example, Goldscheider (1971) notes that counterstream migration from the United States to

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Italy and Puerto Rico have been composed largely of return migrants. But the study of internal migration with respect to counterstreams yields no pertinent data on the distinctions between primary and return movers. To this end, the purpose of this paper will be to examine the feasibility of differentiating between primary and return migrants within the Black counterstream, that is, Black migration to the South.

The dominant Black migration stream in America since 1910 has been from the South to the North. The "Great Migration" of 1916-1918 brought more than a half million persons from small towns and farms in the South to the metropolitan areas of the North. The stream continued through the decades of the twenties and thirties, despite the Depression. According to Census data, more than 119,000 Blacks moved to the North in the period of 1935-1940 (Table I). The counterstream during the same period numbered 32,781, or slightly more than one-fourth of the dominant stream.

The ensuing decades witnessed a continuous movement to the North. Between 1955 and 1960, more than 300,000 persons left the South. The numbers declined slightly in the next decade. In the period 1955-1960, while 300,000 persons moved from the South, the counterstream movement to the South had grown from small beginnings to number almost one-third the dominant stream in that period. Nearly 100,000 Blacks moved to the South during that period.

In the decade of the sixties, a little over 284,000 Blacks left the South, while about 126,000 persons moved to the South. Even with the increase of the North-to-South stream, the relative

size of the counterstream experienced substantial growth. For the 1965-1970 period, the counterstream was nearly half the size of the dominant stream.

Recent trends in Southern economic expansion, the civil rights movements of the sixties, and the resulting decrease in discrimination in the labor market, led students of migration to expect a steady but gradual growth in the size of the counterstream. What was not expected so early in the decade was the dramatic reversal in the historically dominant northward stream. However, data from the 1973 Current Population Survey (CPS) (U.S. Department of Commerce, Social and Economic Statistics Administration, 1974) revealed a tremendous upsurge in the volume of the counterstream. Between 1970 and 1973, 117,000 Blacks left the South, while nearly 200,000 left the North for southern destinations (Table II). Considering all non-South regions, the CPS shows that 166,000 persons left the South while 247,000 persons moved from the West and North to the South. Since the counterstream is now substantially more than one-and-a-half times as large as the stream, the question arises as to when a counterstream is no longer a counterstream. Assuming that what the CPS shows is not a temporary phenomena, what we are witnessing is not only a significant reversal of historical trends, but a veritable demographic revolution of sorts. To say that the short-run, as well as the long-run, implications of this reversal, for the South especially, are major, is an understatement.

The purpose of this paper, however, as stated above, is not to examine the implications of this phenomenon, but to focus on

certain characteristics of the counterstream migrants themselves. While they are generally lumped together under the general heading of "counterstream migrants" it is argued below that primary and return migration are selective of different populations.

As part of a larger study of Black migration to the South, the data for this analysis were derived from the Public Use Sample Tapes of the 1970 Census of Population and Housing.<sup>3</sup> Given the nature of selectivity in migration (Thomas, 1938; Shryock, 1964); Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965), certain socio-demographic and socio-economic factors have been selected for analysis. The variables presented for analysis correspond to those variables showing themselves as useful measures of distinctions between migrant groups: age-sex relationships, marital status, education, income, and occupation.

#### ORIGINS AND DESTINATIONS

The origins and destinations of return and primary migrants by states differ only in minor respects. Although return migrants, according to P.U.S., constitute two-thirds of the total counterstream, the states of destination in the South for both groups center principally in Texas, Florida, and the Carolinas. Although it is a point of debate whether Maryland and Washington, D.C. are truly "southern," these two areas have also received significant numbers of counterstream migrants, especially primary migrants. For both groups it may be said that there is little attraction in the "Deep South" states of Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, although migrants to these states are more frequently return migrants (Table III).

More than two-thirds of the Black population of the South

presently live in urban areas (Table IV). This represents the current stage in the on-going urbanization of not only the Black population but the total population in the South as in all regions. Table IVa indicates the rural-urban distribution of Blacks in the United States, the South, the North, and the West. The changing residential patterns for Blacks in the South as well as the rest of the nation are primarily reflections of changes in employment patterns and advances in agricultural technology. Yet it may be noted that major differences in residential patterns still exist between the South and non-southern regions. Blacks living in the North and West have been primarily urbanites since prior to the turn of the century. Yet it was not until the early 1950's that the Black urban population of the South exceeded the rural (Farley, 1970:50).

This process of urbanization has received some impetus from the Black counterstream migration to the South (Table IV). Whereas 67.3% of the total Black population of the South live in urban areas, 77.5% of Blacks moving to the South come to reside in such areas, while the remaining 21.5% of the migrants move to rural areas. However, when the counterstream is viewed in terms of primary migrants and return migrants, it is found that the greatest impetus to urbanization comes from the first-time migrants. Eighty-six per cent of the primary migrants come to reside in urban areas while only 74.6% of the returnees select such destinations. Viewed from the other direction, more than 25% of the returnees moved to rural destinations while only 13.7% of the primary migrants selected such areas.

The majority (73.5%) of the southern Black population residing

in metropolitan areas (SMSA's) live in the central city (Table IV). However, the majority of the migrants to the region--both primary and return--tend to avoid the central cities as places of residence in favor of those areas beyond the city limits but within the metropolitan area. Little distinction is found between the primary and return migrants with respect to their choice of place of residence within the metropolitan areas. For example, 45.3% of the primary migrants chose the central city compared to 48.9% of the returnees. By controlling for the metropolitan character of the destinations, it was also observed that the states of South Carolina and Virginia were somewhat more attractive to those migrants choosing nonmetropolitan destinations than the other southern states.

The dominant stream of Black migrants to the North exhibit some difference in the character of their metropolitan destinations. For example, migrants leaving the South for destinations in New York, Illinois, Ohio, California, and Michigan chose the central city in 83% of the cases compared to less than 50% of the counter-stream migrants as noted above. These differences in the character of destinations for the dominant and counterstream migration flows can be attributed in part to the location of low and moderate-cost housing, differences in the social and economic characteristics of the migrants, and variations in the historical patterns of the residential segregation in northern and southern cities.

#### AGE AND SEX

Migration selectivity according to age, and the age-sex relationship, have been the most consistent selective features of

migration. Thomas (1938), in her study of European migration, found these factors to be the only consistent selective features. Shryock (1964) explained the phenomenon in terms of the life cycle; that is, propensity to migrate is higher at those ages which correspond to different stages, or disruptions, in the life cycle.

The sequential pattern of primary migration and return migration dictates that, on the whole, return migrants will be the older of the two migrant subgroups (Table V). The amount of differences in the age structure of the two groups depends on several factors, including the duration of residence in the North, age at the time of original out-migration, and causes of the migration, among other factors.

The return migrants and primary migrants which make up the Black counterstream to the South exhibit striking age differences. For example, more than 63% of the adult primary migrants were 15-24 years old, while only 28.4% of the return migrants were of comparable age. Moreover, 82.5% of the primary migrants were under thirty-five years of age compared to only 61.6% of the return migrants (including persons aged 0-14 years), and approximately 10% of the return migrants compared to only 4.1% of the primary migrants were sixty years old or over.

The distinctiveness of return migration and primary migration is also revealed in the differences in which males and females comprise the respective migration subgroups. The sex ratio of the two components of the counterstream differs significantly. For the primary migrants, the sex ratio is a high 143.3, while for the return migrants it is a low 92.6. Variations in the pro-

portions of males to females are also found at different age levels. For example, the sex ratio of the primary migrants 15-24 years of age is 165 compared to 96 for the return migrants. The sex ratio drops appreciably for both primary migrants and returnees in the age cohort 25-34 to 136 and 83 respectively.

Interestingly, the sex ratios of the two migrant subgroups tend toward convergence above age thirty-five, but the number of migrants of that age is relatively small and therefore ratios for the two subgroups are largely unaffected by the normalization found among the older migrants.

Since the basic character of any group is strongly influenced by its age and sex structure, differences found in this respect suggest possible differences in many other ways. The primary migrants and return migrants that make up the Black counterstream exhibit significantly different age-sex structures. Primary migrants are youthful with a disproportionately large number of males. Return migrants, on the other hand, are not so youthful with a disproportionately large number of females. These differences suggest that the causal factors and motivational structures of the two migrant groups are likely to be dissimilar. More research is presently underway to test this hypothesis.

#### MARITAL STATUS

The distinctiveness of the migrant subgroups also reveals itself in the different patterns of marital relationships characterizing the primary migrants and return migrants. The major difference between the two migrant subgroups lies in the significantly larger proportion of the return migrants who are widowed,

divorced or separated (Table VI). Nearly 10% of the return migrants were widowed compared to 2.5% of the primary migrants. This is doubtless due in large part to the different age-sex structures of the two groups as discussed above. Divorce rates were uneven for the components of the counterstream with the return migrants having almost twice the proportion of divorced as primary migrants, 7.5 and 4.5 per cent respectively. Both groups were found to have high rates of separation, however, return migrants were much more likely to be separated than primary migrants. Nearly 16% of the return migrants were separated compared to 9% of the primary migrants. Seventy-three per cent of the primary migrants were married living with their spouses while only 57.6% of the return migrants were of the same status. The proportions married with their spouse absent were roughly the same for both return migrants and primary migrants.

Some variations of these differences are found when marital status is viewed by sex. For example, over 77% of the primary migrant females were married with spouse present compared to a low 50.6% of their return migrant counterparts.

These data suggest that primary migrants and return migrants are not only different in terms of age and sex but also in terms of the pattern of their marital relationships. Return migrants tend to be characterized to a greater extent by disrupted marriages in the form of separations, divorce and widowhood. It is likely that the greater marital stability of the primary migrant is due perhaps in large measure to the youthfulness of the population and likewise their marriages. Nevertheless, whatever the reason, in absolute terms, nearly half of the return migrants are without

their mates while less than one-fourth of the primary migrants can be so characterized.

The data presented for family size and household composition demonstrate a further distinction between the two groups (Table VII). Return migrants generally have larger family sizes than primary migrants, which could be a function of the older age of return migrants. More importantly, the household compositions of the two migrant classes differ significantly in terms of non-primary family members present in the household. Percentage-wise, returnees have other relatives present in the house almost twice as often as primary migrants, but other non-relatives only a third as often as primary migrants. Considering the possibility of kinship networks in the migration process (Scharzweller, et.al., 1971), these figures could hold a great deal of significance for an understanding of the process itself.

#### EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

One of the more important implications of human migration is the direct relationship it has with the location and relocation of human resources. In fact, students of migration frequently explain migration as a society's way of meeting the needs of expanding and contracting labor markets in different geographical locations. Others have expressed similar concerns about the fact that people often make use of the educational resources of an area only to leave after they have completed their education, depriving the community that provided the resources of any return on their investment. On the international scene, this phenomenon

is often called the "brain drain." The same processes also occur within nations resulting in educational gains and losses for the sending and receiving communities depending on how the out-and in-migrants compare with the populations.

One of the questions guiding this research was whether or not the components of the Black counterstream were similar or dissimilar with respect to their educational levels.

In general, return migrants and primary migrants tend to exhibit significantly different levels of educational attainment (Table VIII). For example, the percentage of primary migrants with four or more years of college is more than twice that of return migrants. At the low end, the percentage of return migrants with seven or less years of regular schooling was almost three times as large as that of primary migrants.

It has been argued as early as 1960 that a completed high school education, or its equivalent in vocational school, had become a cultural norm in the United States (Bogue, 1969). In this study, it was found that the proportion completing at least four years of high school was substantially different for the two migrant subgroups. While more than 72% of the primary migrants had at least four years of high school, only half the return migrants had achieved a comparable level of education. However, it is perhaps noteworthy that approximately the same proportion of the two migrant subgroups had some college.

Marked differences may also be found in the education patterns for males and females among primary and return migrants. The largest educational difference between male return migrants and primary migrants was in the highest educational level, four or

more years of college. Almost one-fifth of the primary migrants had attained that level of schooling compared to only 7.2% of the return migrants.

On the whole, there were greater differences among female return migrants and primary migrants than among the males. Contrary to the educational pattern found among the male migrant groups, the greatest differences were in the middle educational levels rather than at the upper and lower extremes. For example, the greatest difference among females was the high school level where 54.1% of the primary migrants had four years of high school compared to 33.0% of the return migrants.

Another interesting pattern reversal exists for males and females in the two migrant subgroups when comparing those with less than four years of high school to those with four years or more of high school. A higher percentage of female primary migrants had four years of high school or more than their male counterparts. Among return migrants, the females had a smaller percentage than their male counterparts. The differences in both migrant groups, however, were not large.

#### OCCUPATION AND INCOME

As the educational differentials would lead us to suspect, primary migrants and return migrants differ in their occupational distribution. Table IX shows that 13.4% of the primary migrants were professionals compared to 8.8% of the return migrants. The modal occupation of the primary migrants was clerical and kindred workers while the modal occupation for return migrants was service

workers. If the occupations may be classified into "white collar" (professional, manager, sales, clerical), "skilled blue collar" (craftsmen, operatives, transport operatives), and "unskilled blue collar" (laborers, farmers, service workers, private household workers, etc.) workers, it may be seen that almost twice as many return migrants were unskilled blue collar workers as primary migrants (Table X). Skilled blue collar occupations characterize primary and return migrants in approximately the same proportions.

In both migrant subgroups females had a larger proportion of white collar workers. Among return migrants women had a slightly larger proportion of professionals whereas among the primary migrants men had a substantially larger proportion of professionals. In the skilled blue collar occupations, males were predominant for both return migrants and primary migrants, as one would expect, given the traditional masculine character of the occupations involved. In the unskilled blue collar occupations women were predominant for both return and primary migrants. This may be accounted for by the disproportionately larger number of women working as service workers and private household workers.

Income stands as an anomaly in the context of other socio-demographic characteristics of the two migrant subgroups (Table XI). Educationally and occupationally, the primary migrants exhibit higher status characteristics. Yet in the terms of income, primary and return migrants show no major differences. At each income level, the differences do not exceed seven per cent. For example, 65.7% of the return migrants had incomes of \$3,999 or less compared to 66.0% of the primary migrants. The middle income

range of \$4,000 to \$7,999 was found to be equally characteristic of both migrant groups. Twenty-six per cent of the return migrants compared to 19.8% of the primary migrants were in the middle income range. Only 8.5% of the return and 8.4% of the primary migrants had incomes of \$8,000 or more.

One possible explanation for the evenness of incomes of the two migrant subgroups is that the expected differences in income that derive from educational and occupational differences are countered by age difference, i.e., older, experienced blue collar workers will often earn as much as a younger, inexperienced white collar worker.

It should also be noted that a large proportion of the primary white collar workers were in the lower paying clerical and sales occupations whereas a sizable proportion of the return migrant skilled blue collar workers were in the relatively highly paid operative and transport occupations.

Despite the similarity of the incomes of the migrant groups, the other general characteristic is the uniformly low incomes. Less than 5% of the primary migrants and less than 1% of the returnees had incomes of \$15,000 or more at the time of the census.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The purpose of this paper has been to examine the utility of differentiating between primary migrants and return migrants in the Black counterstream migration to the South. With the 1970 Census Public Use Sample data on those migrants who were residing in the North in 1965 and in the South in 1970, including identification of place of birth, several questions were raised about

the Black counterstream and its migrant subgroups, focusing on the size of the counterstream, characteristics of the place of residence, and characteristics of the migrants.

A counterstream migration of Black people to the South has existed for many decades. The Census data indicates this counterstream has been steadily increasing from the first data available in 1935-1940 up through the 1973 data from the Current Population Survey. The majority of the Black counterstream is moving into metropolitan areas and not to the rural areas where most Blacks were located thirty years ago. Those moving into metropolitan areas were more likely than the total Black population to reside in areas outside the central city. It was also found that the counterstream migration was selective for age, marital status, education, and occupation. There was some variance between the return migrants and primary migrants for most of the characteristics. The highest selectivity was exhibited by the primary migrants. They were more likely to have higher educational levels, higher occupational levels, more likely to have a complete family, and were younger than return migrants. One anomaly was in income where primary and return migrants had generally similar levels.

By way of summary, the following points should be made:

1. There is a need for a less ambiguous definition of counterstream migration. Little attention has been paid to this theoretically and empirically important component of the migration picture.
2. The size of the Black counterstream migration to the South has exceeded that of the dominant stream to the North.
3. Primary migration and return migration, components of the

counterstream, are two distinctive processes, each selective of different populations in terms of age structure, sex ratio, marital status, education, and occupation.

The present stage of theoretical development in migration is insufficient to provide the necessary framework for a meaningful interpretation of the processes of counterstream migration and the characteristics of the component migrant subgroups. It is past time for new ground to be broken which will provide a fertile framework within which our understanding of population movement might be cultivated. But it is also possible that for the ground to be broken new conceptual tools will be needed to do the job.

## FOOTNOTES

2. A "return" migrant is defined as a person born in the South who had a residence outside the South in 1965, and lived in the South in 1970. It is clearly recognized that other definitions might have more sociological implications of the return migration of a person who was reared in the South, moved to the North as an adult and back to the South would be very different from the return migration of a person who moved to the North in early childhood and back to the South at some later date (perhaps still as a child). The movement as a child would fall within the general category of "involuntary" migration. Comparative data were obtained for the total Black population from the various published Census of Population and Housing reports. These are footnoted as appropriate. Unfortunately the Census data do not allow for any other definition than the one used. However, this hypothesis will be tested in a field survey to be completed as a part of this project.
3. The migrant records were compiled from the 1/100 State tapes of the Public Use Sample tapes for all states in the South. The Public Use Sample used a 1 in 5 (20%) sample, then subdivided into 15% and 5% samples. Different questionnaires were used, but with some items repeated. The 5% sample was selected by designating every fourth 20% sample unit as a member of the 5% sample. See "Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation." Variance by the variable under examination in the N is a function of the nature of P.U.S. data. Data for each variable does not read out for each case (person file) due to blanks in the Census questionnaire, missing variables, etc.

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TABLE I  
**BLACK MIGRATION: STREAMS AND COUNTERSTREAMS**  
**1940, 1960, 1970**

Direction of Migration	1935-40	1955-60	1965-70
South to North	119,637	301,005	284,186
South to West			93,971
North to South	32,781	98,206	126,103
West to South			35,600
North to South as Per Cent of South to North	27.4	32.6	44.4
Total Non-South to South as Per Cent of South to Non-South			42.8

United States Census of Population 1940, Internal Migration, 1935-1940, Table 20.

United States Census of Population 1960, PC(2)-2D, Table 6.

United States Census of Population 1970, PC(1)-C1, Table 131.

TABLE II  
 BLACK MIGRATION SOUTH TO NORTH AND NORTH TO SOUTH  
 1970-1973

Direction of Migration	1970-1973
South to Northeast	54,000
South to North Central	63,000
Total	117,000
Northeast to South	124,000
North Central to South	74,000
Total	198,000
South to West	49,000
Total (All)	166,000
West to South	49,000
Total (All)	247,000
North to South as % of South to North	169.2
Non-South to South as % of South to Non-South	148.8

United States Department of Commerce, Population Characteristics,  
 Series P-20, No. 256, Superintendent of Documents, U.S.  
 Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., November  
 1973, Table IV, page 11.

TABLE III  
PLACE OF RESIDENCE BY RESIDENCE 5 YEARS AGO: 1970  
Per Cent of all Migration

Division of Residence	PRIMARY MIGRANTS						RETURN MIGRANTS			
	1965		South	West	TOTAL	South	East	West	South	TOTAL
	Atlantic	South	Atlantic	Atlantic	Atlantic	Atlantic	South	Atlantic	South	Atlantic
NORTHEAST	(37.2)	(4.7)	(6.0)	(47.9)	(38.5)	(5.4)	(2.2)	(46.1)		
Middle Atlantic	34.0	3.7	5.8	43.5	33.6	4.3	1.4	39.3		
New England	3.1	1.0	0.2	4.4	4.9	1.1	0.8	6.8		
NORTHCENTRAL	(17.5)	(11.3)	(8.9)	(37.7)	(9.9)	(12.9)	(8.6)	(31.4)		
East North Central	14.4	10.2	7.1	31.7	7.6	9.9	6..3	23.8		
West North Central	3.1	1.1	1.8	6.0	2.3	3.0	2.3	7.5		
WEST AND PACIFIC	<u>7.9</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>3.6</u>	<u>14.4</u>	<u>6.7</u>	<u>3.1</u>	<u>12.8</u>	<u>22.5</u>		
TOTAL MIGRANTS	62.6 239	18.9 72	18.5 71	100.0 382	55.1 462	21.3 179	23.6 198	100.0 839		

TABLE IV  
 PUBLIC USE SAMPLE  
 RESIDENCE: PRIMARY AND RETURN MIGRANTS

Residence	PRIMARY		RETURN	
	Total	Per Cent	Total	Per Cent
<b>URBAN/RURAL</b>				
Urban	352	86.3	626	74.6
Rural	<u>56</u>	<u>13.7</u>	<u>213</u>	<u>25.4</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>408</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>839</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>METRO/NONMETRO</b>				
Metropolitan	252	72.0	475	64.5
Nonmetropolitan	<u>98</u>	<u>28.0</u>	<u>261</u>	<u>35.5</u>
	<b>350</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>736</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>CENTRAL/NONCENTRAL</b>				
Central City	165	45.3	344	48.9
Noncentral City	<u>199</u>	<u>54.7</u>	<u>360</u>	<u>51.1</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>364</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>704</b>	<b>100.0</b>

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TABLE IVa  
PROPORTION OF BLACKS LIVING IN URBAN  
AND RURAL AREAS: 1890-1960  
Per Cent

	TOTAL UNITED STATES		SOUTH		NORTH AND WEST	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
1890	20	80	15	85	62	38
1900	23	77	17	83	70	30
1910	27	73	21	79	77	23
1920	34	66	25	75	84	16
1930	44	56	32	68	88	12
1940	49	51	37	64	89	11
1950-old def*	59	41	—	—	—	—
1950-new def	62	38	48	52	93	7
1960	73	27	58	42	95	5

\*In 1950, the definition of urban residence was changed to include as urban those individuals who lived in places of less than 2500 but within the suburbs of central cities.

Farley, Reynolds. Growth of the Black Population: A Study of Demographic Trends. Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1970, p. 50.

TABLE V  
DETAILED AGE DISTRIBUTION  
Per Cent

AGE	PRIMARY MIGRANTS			RETURN MIGRANTS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
15-19	26.1	21.6	24.3	9.3	10.7	10.0
20-24	39.2	31.7	36.2	19.8	17.1	18.4
25-29	14.7	16.8	15.5	16.4	17.4	16.9
30-34	5.3	6.0	5.6	14.7	17.4	16.1
35-39	5.3	7.8	6.3	11.0	7.8	9.3
40-44	2.4	4.2	3.2	7.6	6.6	7.1
45-49	2.0	1.8	1.9	4.9	3.4	4.1
50-54	0.8	3.0	1.7	4.4	4.3	4.3
55-59	1.2	1.2	1.2	3.2	5.7	4.5
60-64	0.8	1.8	1.2	2.7	2.5	2.6
65-69	0.0	1.8	0.7	2.9	2.7	2.8
70 +	2.0	2.4	2.2	3.2	4.3	3.8
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>PERSONS</b>	<b>245</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>412</b>	<b>409</b>	<b>438</b>	<b>847</b>

Males: Age x Migrant Status:  $\chi^2 = 96.83620$ ; 11 d.f.; significant at .001 level.  
 Females: Age x Migrant Status:  $\chi^2 = 43.77853$ ; 11 d.f.; significant at .001 level.

TABLE VI  
MARITAL STATUS BY SEX\*  
Per Cent

STATUS	PRIMARY MIGRANTS			RETURN MIGRANTS		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Married, Spouse Present	69.5	76.0	72.7	65.5	50.3	57.4
Married, Spouse Absent	18.1	3.0	10.7	10.6	8.5	9.5
Widowed	1.0	5.0	2.9	4.8	14.4	9.9
Divorced	3.8	5.0	4.4	7.1	7.9	7.5
Separated	7.6	11.0	9.3	11.9	18.9	15.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>MIGRANTS</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>310</b>	<b>354</b>	<b>664</b>

\*excluding persons never married

**Males:** Marital Status x Migrant Status:  $\chi^2 = 9.43994$ ; 4 d.f.; non-significant.

**Females:** Marital Status x Migrant Status:  $\chi^2 = 21.78618$ ; 4 d.f.; significant at .001 level.

TABLE VII  
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION BY MIGRANT STATUS  
Per Cent

	PRIMARY MIGRANTS	RETURN MIGRANTS	TOTAL MIGRANTS
Head of Household	28.2	40.3	36.3
Wife of Head	17.3	18.7	18.3
Son/Daughter of Head	10.2	16.9	14.7
Other Relative of Head	6.9	13.0	11.0
Roomer or Boarder, Patient or inmate not related	37.4	11.0	19.7
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0
MIGRANTS	422	859	1281

$\chi^2=44.7360$       3 d.f.      Significant at .001

TABLE VIII  
YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY SEX:  
PERSONS 25 YEARS AND OLDER  
Per Cent

	PRIMARY MIGRANTS			RETURN MIGRANTS		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
<b>ELEMENTARY</b>						
Less than 5 years	1.2	2.6	1.8	6.9	4.7	5.8
5-7 years	3.5	5.1	4.3	13.4	10.1	11.7
8 years	4.7	—	2.5	6.6	11.1	8.9
<b>HIGH SCHOOL</b>						
1-3 years	18.8	20.5	19.6	20.0	25.9	23.1
4 years	38.8	52.6	45.4	34.5	32.6	33.5
<b>COLLEGE</b>						
1-3 years	12.9	10.3	11.7	11.4	8.9	10.1
4 years or more	20.0	9.0	14.7	7.2	6.6	6.9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>PERSONS</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>290</b>	<b>316</b>	<b>606</b>

Males: Years of School Completed x Migrant Status:  $\chi^2=21.07140$ ; 6 d.f.; significant at .01 level.

Females: Years of School Completed x Migrant Status:  $\chi^2=19.22021$ ; 6 d.f.; significant at .01 level.

TABLE IX  
OCCUPATION BY SEX  
Per Cent

OCCUPATION	PRIMARY MIGRANTS			RETURN MIGRANTS		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Professional, Tech.	17.5	9.8	13.1	7.6	10.3	9.0
Managers/Admin.	4.9	0.8	2.5	4.8	0.6	2.5
Sales Workers	1.9	6.8	4.7	1.9	4.2	3.1
Clerical Workers	16.5	42.1	31.0	8.3	17.5	13.2
Craftsmen	13.6	1.5	6.8	14.6	1.1	7.4
Operatives	18.4	8.3	12.7	19.4	16.9	18.0
Transport Operatives	2.9	—	1.3	6.0	0.8	3.3
Laborers	6.8	—	3.0	17.5	1.9	9.2
Farmers and Managers	—	—	—	0.3	0.3	0.3
Farm Laborers	1.9	—	0.8	2.9	1.1	1.9
Service Workers	14.6	24.1	19.9	16.5	30.6	24.0
Private Household	1.0	6.8	4.2	0.3	14.7	8.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	103	133	236	315	360	675

Males: Occupation x Migrant Status:  $\chi^2 = 22.96518$ ; 12 d.f.; significant at .05 level

Females: Occupation x Migrant Status:  $\chi^2 = 44.54604$ ; 12 d.f.; significant at .001 level.

TABLE X  
 PUBLIC USE SAMPLE  
 BROAD OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS  
 Per Cent

	PRIMARY MIGRANTS	RETURN MIGRANTS	TOTAL MIGRANTS
White Collar	51.7	27.9	34.0
Blue Collar	23.7	37.9	34.3
Farm	0.9	2.2	1.9
Service	23.7	32.0	29.9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>PERSONS</b>	<b>232</b>	<b>681</b>	<b>913</b>

 $\chi^2=44.7360$ 

3 d.f.

Significant at .001 level

TABLE XI  
PERSONS INCOME BY SEX  
Per cent

	PRIMARY MIGRANTS			RETURN MIGRANTS		
	Male	Female	TOTAL	Male	Female	TOTAL
Under \$1,000	15.5	32.8	21.9	16.7	31.9	23.9
\$1,000-\$1,999	20.3	14.8	18.2	12.1	23.7	17.6
\$2,000-\$2,999	16.9	10.7	14.6	10.0	10.6	10.3
\$3,000-\$3,999	10.1	12.3	10.9	13.2	14.3	13.7
\$4,000-\$4,999	7.2	9.8	8.2	10.5	6.7	8.7
\$5,000-\$5,999	9.7	6.6	8.5	11.9	2.1	7.3
\$6,000-\$6,999	5.3	6.6	5.8	7.8	5.2	6.6
\$7,000-\$7,999	2.9	4.1	3.3	5.1	1.5	3.4
\$8,000-\$9,999	3.9	0.8	2.7	8.1	3.3	5.9
\$10,000-\$14,999	2.9	1.6	2.4	3.8	0.3	2.1
\$15,000-\$24,999	3.4	—	2.1	0.8	0.3	0.6
\$25,000 +	1.9	—	1.2	—	—	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
<b>PERSONS</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>329</b>	<b>371</b>	<b>329</b>	<b>700</b>

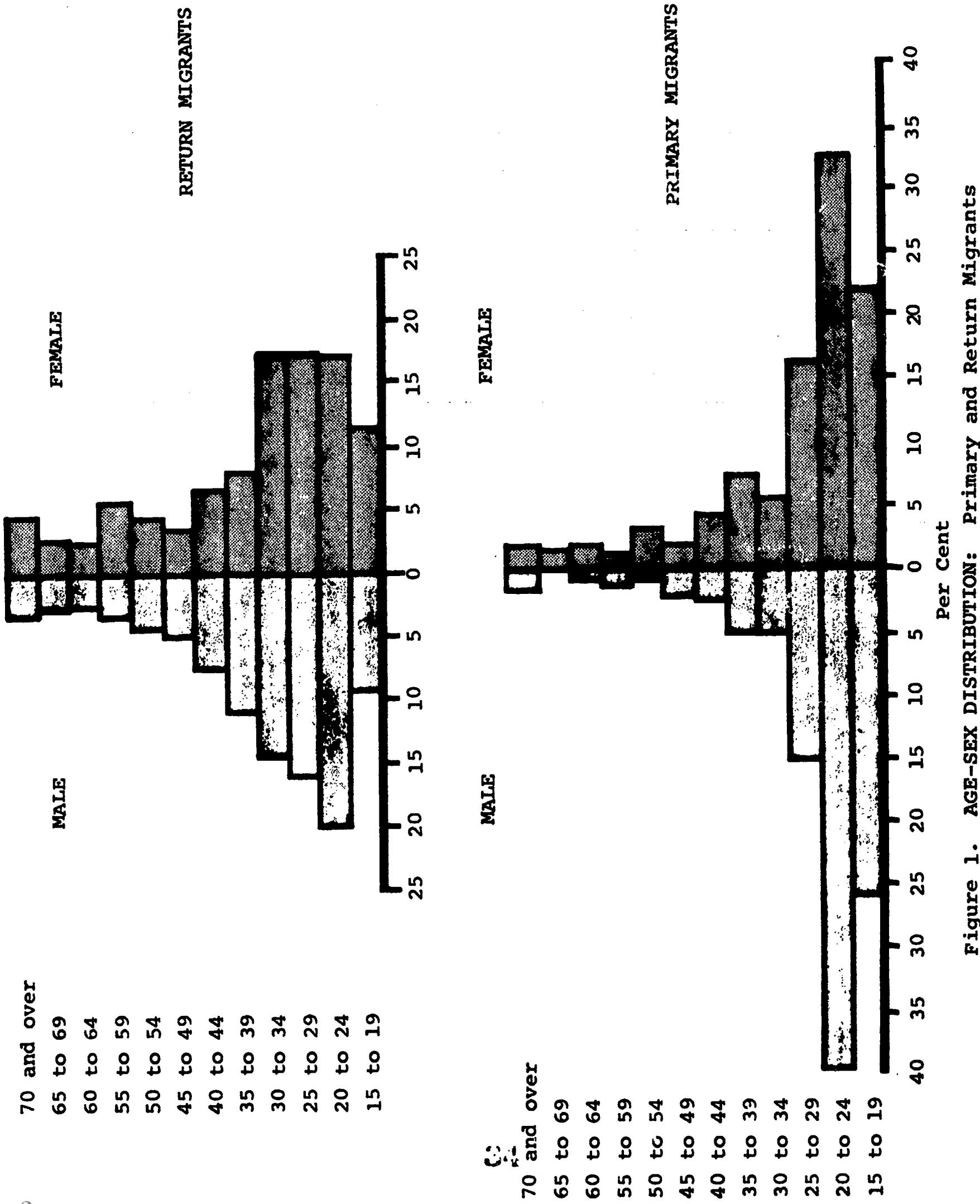


Figure 1. AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION: Primary and Return Migrants

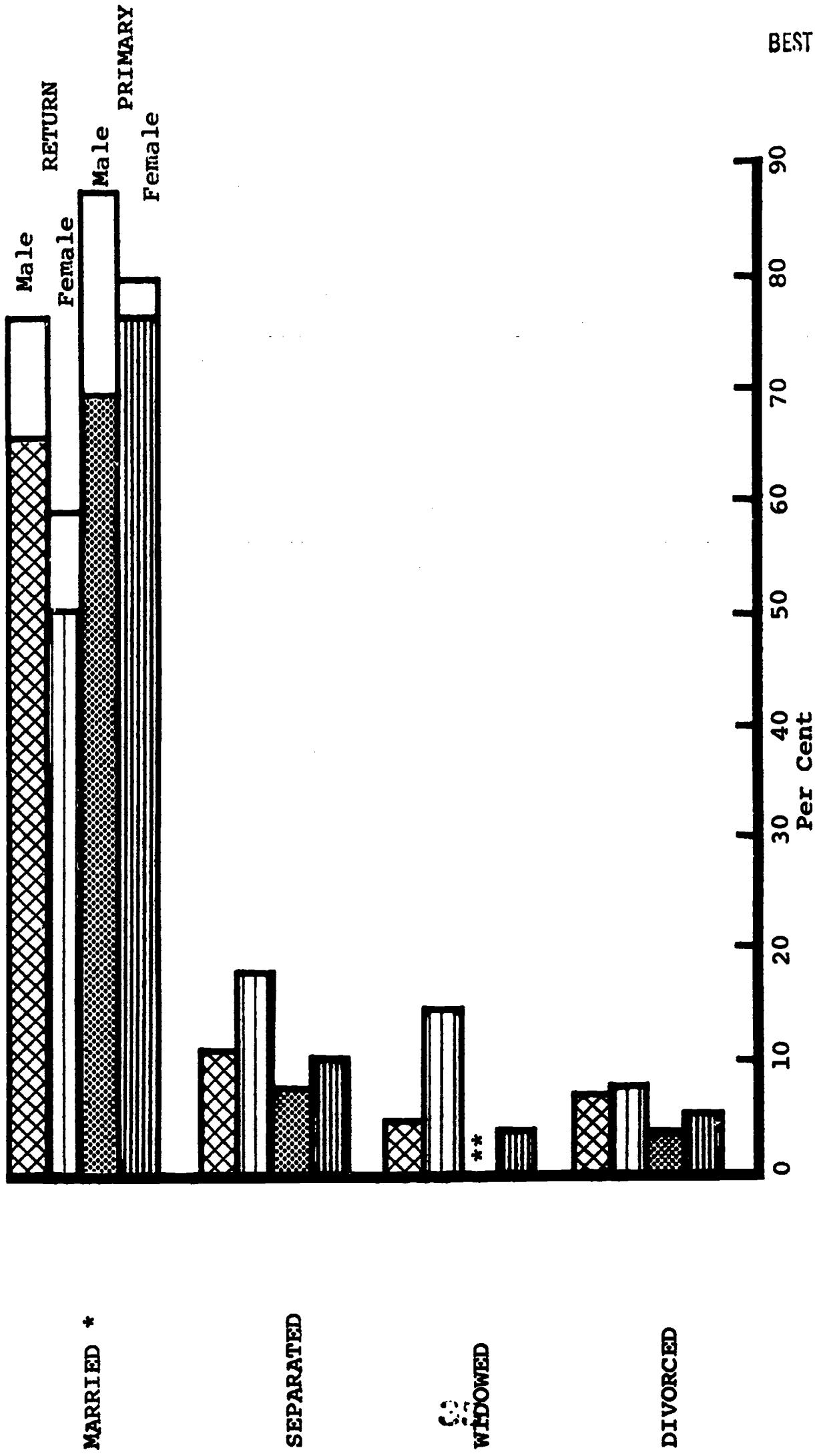


Figure 2. MARITAL STATUS BY SEX for Return and Primary Migrants

\* Includes Married with Spouse Present and Married with Spouse Absent. Married with Spouse Absent designated by white area

\*\* Less than One Per Cent

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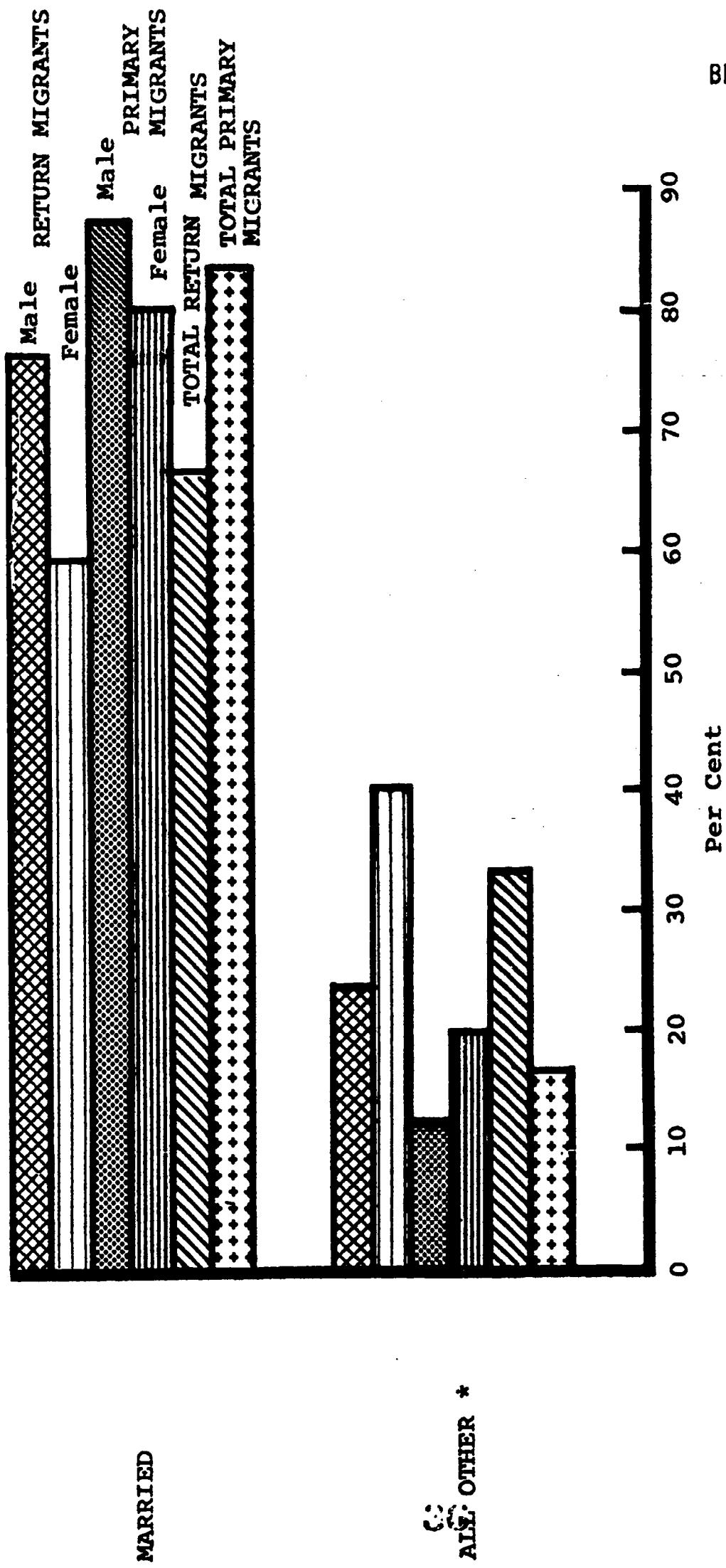


Figure 2a. MARITAL STATUS BY SEX for RETURN and PRIMARY MIGRANTS

\* Includes: Separated, Divorced and Widowed Categories

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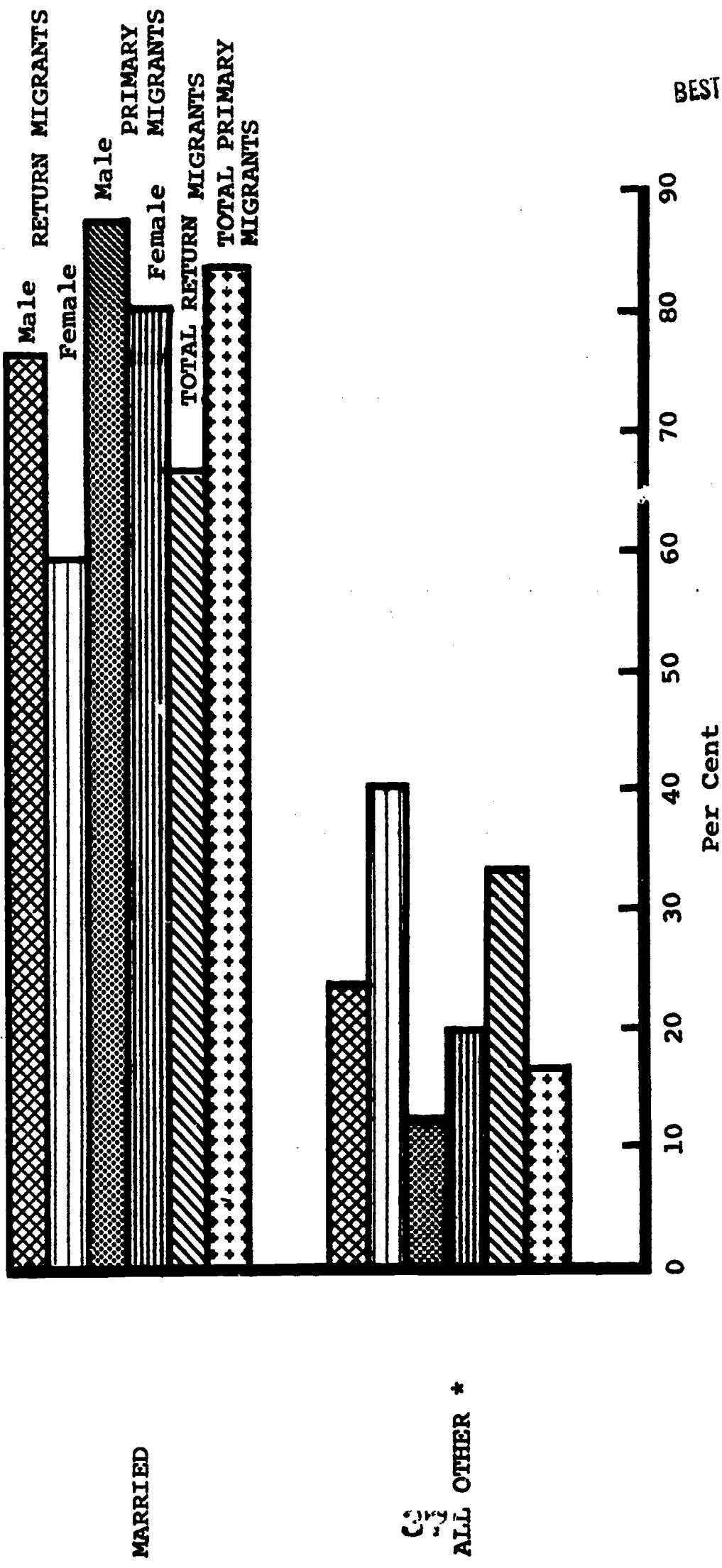


Figure 2a. MARITAL STATUS BY SEX for Return and Primary Migrants

\* Includes: Separated, Divorced and Widowed Categories

Elementary:  
Less than  
5 years

Male RETURN MIGRANTS

Female

Male PRIMARY MIGRANTS

Female

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5 to 7 years

8 years

High School:  
1 to 3 years

4 years

College:  
1 to 3 years

4 years or  
more

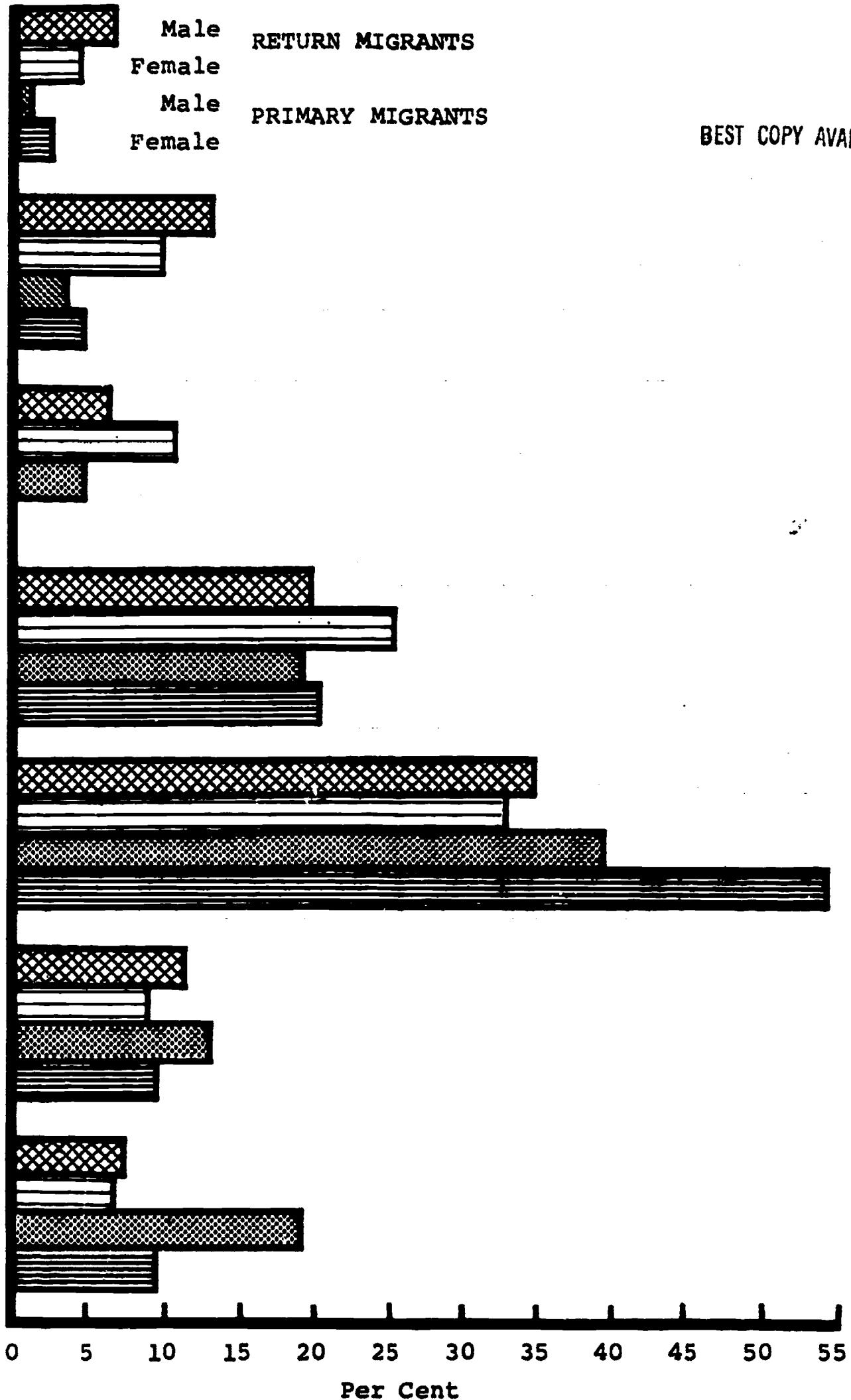


Figure 3. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY SEX for Return and Primary

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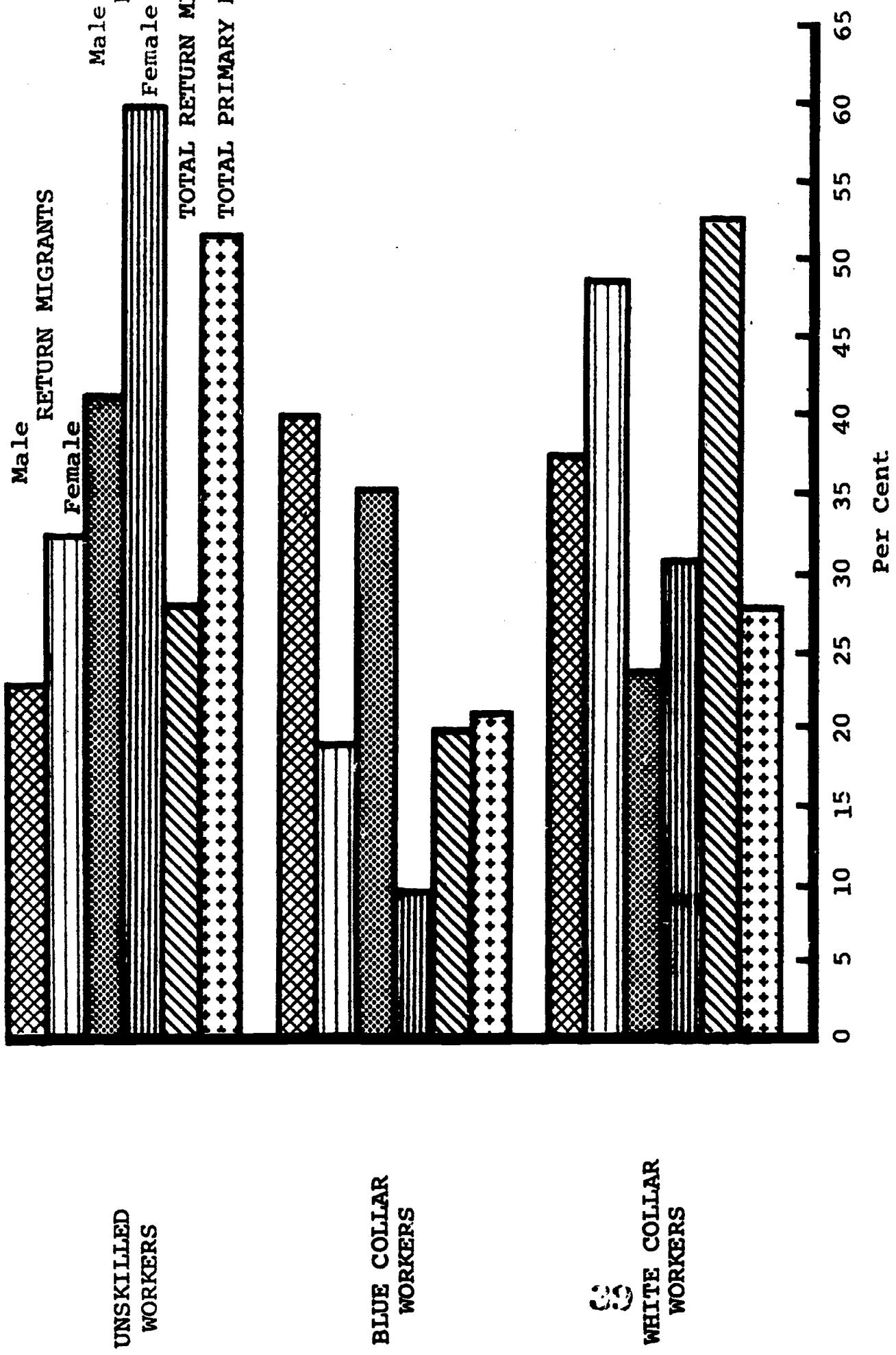


Figure 4. OCCUPATIONAL STATUS: Primary and Return Migrants

Private Household  
Workers

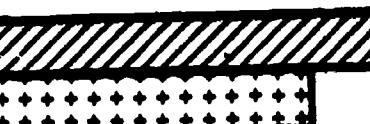
TOTAL RETURN MIGRANTS

TOTAL PRIMARY MIGRANTS

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Service Workers  
except Private  
Household Workers

Farm Laborers and  
Farm Foremen



Farmers and Farm  
Managers

\*

\*

Laborers, Except  
Farm

\*

Transport Equipment  
Operatives

\*

Operatives, Except  
Transport

\*

Craftsmen, Foremen,  
and Kindred Workers

\*

Clerical and Kindred  
Workers

\*

Sales Workers

\*

Managers and Admin-  
istrators, Except  
Farm

\*

Professional, Tech-  
nical, and Kindred  
Workers

\*

0 10 20 30 40 50 60  
Per Cent

Figure 5. EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION for Return and Primary

\*Less than One Per Cent

.10

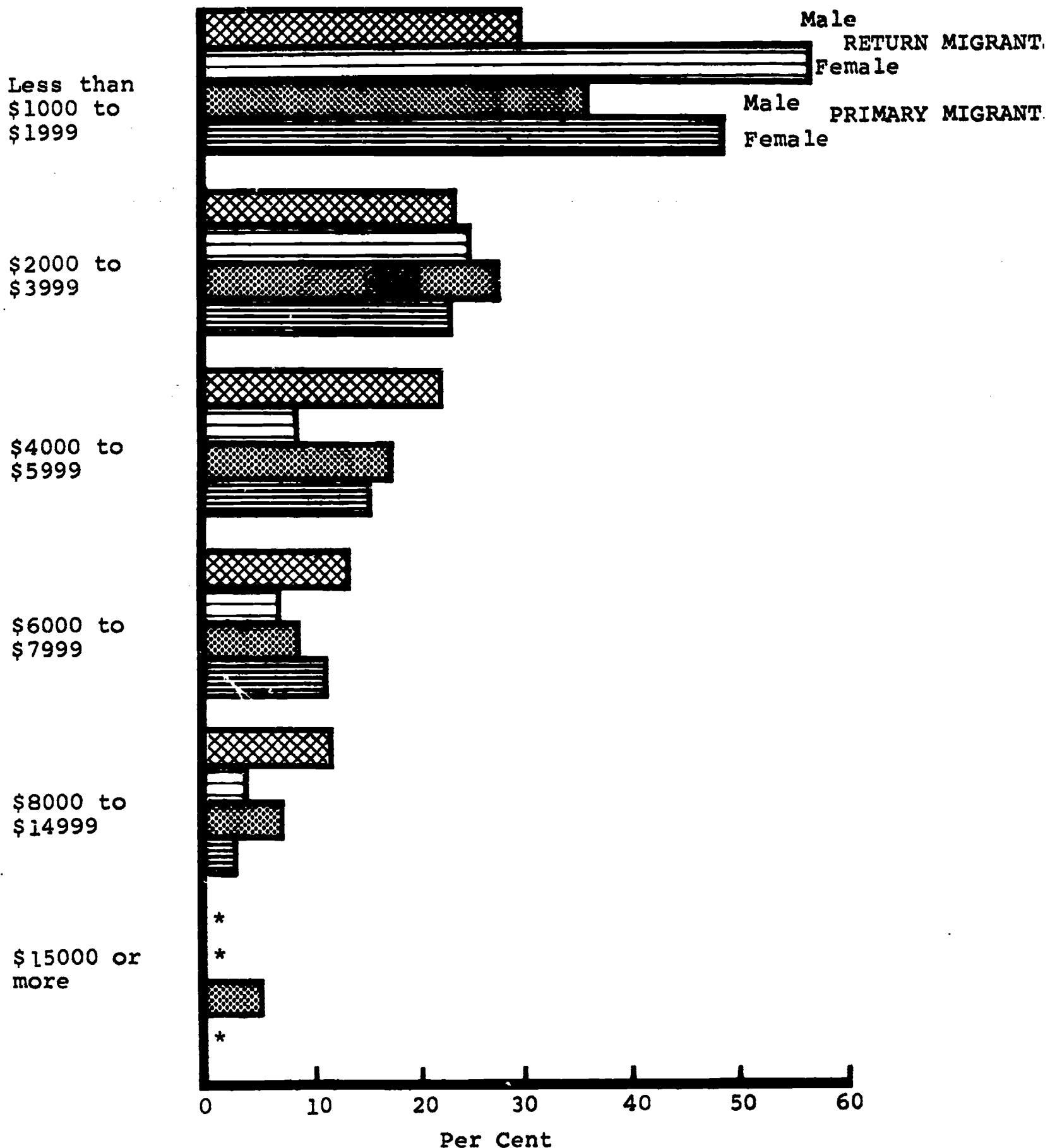


Figure 6. 1969 INCOME BY SEX for Return and Primary Migrants

\*Less than One Per Cent